1:Opler E-5 (1931-1937)1941
(ca. 1870) NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
Chiricahua

868 857 Boys begin their interest in horsemanship while they are still very young:

The Chiricahua would hobble their horses way off in the woods. A boy would play with the horse when no one was watching. Children from seven years of age and on would go and learn by themselves when the older people didn't even know about it. There were always some gentle horses for the boys to ride. I would crawl on a horse when I was about seven. I used to put my foot on his leg, get hold of his mane, and crawl up on his back. Sometimes I fell off again, but after a while I would get on the horse's back.

868 857 •224 When the boy is sufficiently strong to handle a bow and arrows, some member of the extended family—the father, the mother's brother, or the grandfather—provides him with them and gives him the necessary advice.

When I was small I didn't know how to make a bow and arrows myself. My father said, "First, I'm going to make you learn how to hunt." He made a bow and arrows for me. Children use a small wooden arrow with a wooden point, but they can shoot a long way with it, for they have a good bow.

My father said, "Go ahead, son, and shoot birds and squirrels and any small things. But, before you try, I must tell you that these little birds and animals are not tame. They see you just as soon as you come in sight of them. The squirrels, as soon as they see you come anywhere near them, run away. You must see the squirrel before it sees you. You can't just run up to squirrels and shoot them, because they are wild. If you have to crawl to get where your arrow can hit a squirrel, do it.

"A bird is the same way. If he is over there on a limb, you must come around so that you can get within range of him. Part of the time you must crawl, because he is watching, and in that way you can get within range and shoot him. In hunting you must go very slowly and softly, not rattling stones with your feet or making rocks roll down a steep place. Go carefully; creep up to your game.

"It will be just the same when you hunt deer. Then you will still have to go slyly and carefully. Deer can see you before you see them. The deer places himself where he can see very well. You must look for him. You must go slyly up to him as if you were a fox. It's the same if you are hunting antelopes or any other animals; you must be very cautious."

That is the teaching for a little boy when he is given a bow and arrows. So I did these things, and it worked out exactly as he said.

[825] [789] Most adults, when they present the boy with his first bow, advise him to swallow whole the raw heart of the first kill he makes to guarantee continued abundance from the hunt.

000 But no amount of good advice will prepare a youth for hunting

1:Opler E-5 (1931-1937)1941
(ca. 1870) NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
Chiricahua

868 I will continue to make you get up early in the morning just as
882 you do now, but you will have to do more than that. You will become a raid and war novice."

The term that has been translated here as "novice" denotes the status of a youth who is advanced enough in his training to enter the final phases of preparation for actual raiding. Some informants use the word only to refer to the participant in the
[884] four raid or war expeditions which elevate a youth to the full status of a warrior.

868 The initial training of the novice (using the word in the less
883 restricted sense) does not differ greatly from what has gone before:

> When I was a boy they began training me as a novice. To be a novice means that you cannot disobey but must train yourself as your elders say. . . . . Many a young boy at fourteen was as well trained and dangerous as a soldier.
>
> My father did his best to train me just as he had been trained when he was a young boy. He gave me all the ceremonial training he had once been through himself too. When I was ten or twelve years old he began to teach me and was very strict with me.
>
> He would say to me, "You must have your arrows and your bow where you can grab them. Keep your knife beside you. Have your moccasins ready. Be on the alert in peace or in war. Don't spend all your time sleeping. Get up when the morning star comes out. Watch for that star. Don't let it get up before you do." That is the kind of teaching a boy gets when he is a novice.

868 The reference to "ceremonial training" suggests that more
883 than purely practical measures are involved. The parents pray
787 for their son's success and future safety, and he may be taken to a
956 shaman whose ceremony is known to be of special benefit to novices. "The shaman prays that the boy may be free from
[787] harm. A yellow light shines on the boy's head. It follows the boy and makes a circle back to the shaman. That means that the boy will come back safely. The shaman smokes and sings."

868 "At about fourteen years of age the boy starts hunting with
883 the men." Usually an older man who "knows" a great deal about
884 deer goes along and marks the tips of the young hunter's moccasins with blood from the kill.

000 At the conclusion of the training period, some boys, to insure

1:Opler E-5 (1931-1937)1941
(ca. 1870) NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
Chiricahua

868 the camp. Girls who are good runners even aid boys and adults
526 in one form of hunting, the rabbit surround. All close in on a
224 circular area, beating the brush to drive the rabbits toward the center and club or shoot them.

868 But the young girl's principal concern is to assist the women in those tasks not beyond her strength and to receive continual instruction from them. They indicate to her the plants useful for food, artifacts, and medicine and teach her to gather materials and to dry, store, and prepare them. "A girl is taught to sew moccasins, weave baskets, make clothing, and cook. Her mother and grandmother begin to teach her as soon as she is old enough to understand, and by the time she is fifteen she is well educated."

1:Opler E-5 (1931-1937)1941
(ca. 1870) NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
Chiricahua

Residence with or near his affinities is almost imperative for the man, for obviously it would be an insupportable burden for him to maintain a distant encampment of his own and still provide liberally for his wife's parents Moreover, his identification with these affinal relatives is not without its reciprocal benefits.

At marriage a man goes to the camp of the girl's parents to live. We do this because a woman is more valuable than a man. We do it to accommodate the woman. The son-in-law is considered a son and as one of the family. The in-laws depend a great deal on him. They depend on him for hunting and all kinds of work. He is almost a slave to them. Everything he gets on the hunt goes to them. In return he has privileges with the property of his wife's people. He can get anything they have very easily. It is understood that he can call on them for aid. This relationship dates from the time of consent to the marriage.

Sometimes the arrival of the groom is the signal for a celebration at the encampment of the bride to which relatives and friends of the couple are invited. The expense and labor are borne by the woman's relatives, although the man's kin, if they live close by, may assist. The program is the usual one of games, feasting, and social dancing. The festivities continue through a day and late into the night.

After marriage the face of the world is changed for the young man: he removes to another residence, he becomes drawn into the orbit of a new economic constellation, and he becomes subject to the edicts and desires of new masters.

THE MAN AND HIS WIFE'S RELATIVES

Primary avoidances and the avoidance behavior pattern.—The regular terms for various affinal relatives are all forms of one verb—the verb "to carry a burden." There have been recent extensions of the meaning of this root, but in the older sense the burden to which reference is made seems to have been the proceeds of the hunt:

I can say to anyone, "I will bring in [carry in] deer for you," using this word. Friends have said this to me because I do not hunt much. I say to them, using the same word, "Yes, bring in the game for me." This does not imply any relationship between us necessarily. On the other hand, when it comes to marriage, we speak of one who marries into our family as "one who carries things in for me" in the sense of "one who goes out and kills and carries in game for me." The word means to me that in the old days a son-in-law would go out and kill game

1:Opler E-5 (1931-1937)1941
(ca. 1870) NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
Chiricahua

for his parents-in-law. The word implies to me that the man's business is to hunt in this fashion for me if I am the father-in-law. It is his obligation to do so forever.

It is not alone the father-in-law who calls a son-in-law "one who carries burdens for me." Every relative of the wife, no matter how remotely connected, is entitled to so address or refer to the husband. And the term with which he reciprocates is simply another form of the same verb which means "one for whom I carry burdens."

From the moment that consent to the marriage has been given, a relationship of total avoidance is established between the husband and certain of his wife's relatives. With these persons, avoidance is the unalterable rule and no choice is permitted. "Even if your wife's parents don't approve of the marriage, they have to be ashamed [practice avoidance] anyway." These obligatory avoidance affinities are: the wife's mother, her father, her mother's mother, and her father's mother. Thus, when the young man comes to his new home, there are at least three affinal relatives living close by (providing they are still alive) upon whom he may not look, and who may not see him. Even at the marriage feast this rule of avoidance must be respected. Avoidance makes necessary certain precautions in the arrangement of homes and obviates the possibility of a common meal for the larger relationship group, even though its members share the same larder.

A man lives near his in-laws and brings what he gets on the hunt back to them, all of it. His food is prepared there at his mother-in-law's place anyway. The camp of the young people is so arranged that the place of the parents-in-law cannot be seen; it might be behind some brush with the door facing the other way. The wife eats with her husband, though the food is usually prepared at her mother's home.

The bringing of food to the husband by the wife is termed "she sets something in a container before him":

This means the act of the wife in bringing to her husband food that has been prepared by her mother. The word is now jokingly used to lazy men in the sense of, "You want things pretty easy, don't you? You want things brought on a silver platter to you."

1:Opler E-5 (1931-1937)1941
(ca. 1870) NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
Chiricahua

606 578 596 his obligations to them satisfactorily. "The mother-in-law sticks up for the son-in-law in case of trouble if he is known to be a good man. The mother-in-law does not beat about the bush. She tells the person right out what is in her mind."

[178] That the son-in-law can expect justice and consideration is illustrated by a case, phrased in terms of present-day economy, which preserves values operative in purely aboriginal times. The [156] son-in-law here assumes a passive attitude, for it would be unbecoming of him to voice his own demands.

606 607 578 596 If one of the sons is lazy and the brother-in-law does all the work, all the herding, and, when they come to sell the sheep or to slaughter the animals, the son wants his proportionate share of the proceeds, his father will say to him, "My son, your brother-in-law did all the work. Now you want just as much of the profit as if you had worked. You must go and see your sister."

His sister says, "Take your bunch of sheep and put them in some other flock. Get someone who will herd your sheep for nothing! That's what you are looking for." The brother-in-law will sit by, keeping his peace.

606 596 [593] Avoidance and honor comprise only one aspect of a man's obligations to his wife's parents; the other facet is the duty of economic support. "A son may help support the old people if he desires to, but the son-in-law has to support them."

[224] If his father-in-law wants a son-in-law to do something, he has to do it. If he is given a bow and arrows, he has to go out. He is supposed to turn the whole deer over to his father-in-law and mother-in-law and not to take any unless they give it to him. The father-in-law and mother-in-law can share it with their neighbors if they wish to. The young man gives to his in-laws even if he is not ordered out to hunt by them.

606 596 This sense of identification with the economic activities of the wife's relatives begins immediately upon marriage. "There is something about it so that a man helps his wife's people." "As soon as a man marries he feels that he should work for his father-in-law and mother-in-law." The connection between this economic tie and the rule of residence is again emphasized. "It is usual to live with the wife's people. In the old days the boy had to work for his father-in-law. If a man killed two deer, he would give most of it to his wife's people." But so strong is the sense of economic obligation to the wife's parents that its dictates are heeded even when, for some reason, matrilocal residence is not

606 591 596

1:Opler E-5 (1931-1937)1941
(ca. 1870) NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
Chiricahua

824 721 789 648 539

out what had been done against them. He saw that the enemy had used cactus with a spider's web. This makes the toes twist [gives cramps] and makes the men fall off their horses. My father found it out and let them have the worst of it. He went to the edge of camp and "shot" four cactus plants on the back trail. They had no trouble after that.

224 789 825 [832]

Antelope and deer.—Deer and antelope ceremonies have as their primary function the securing of game, but other uses for such power exist, such as the employment of the deer ceremony in love rites. The usual deer ceremony is direct in intent and execution. It consists in prayers and songs to Deer the night before the hunt, bespeaking the singer's need, and instructing the animals to give up some of their hide and meat. The ritual may include placing a certain grass under the pillow the night before the hunt, refraining from mentioning the ordinary names for game animals during the expedition, or observing other rules. Often the mountain where the hunter intends to seek his kill is named in the songs.

756 224 825 778 554

The test of a deer or antelope shaman's relations with his power source is the success with which he can predict when, where, and in what quantity the game may be obtained. For some shamans the ability to produce or to find game almost at will has been claimed.

Many knew about deer, but A.'s father knew more than the rest. One man wanted to bet with him [about which one knew more on this subject]. The great man did not want to bet. "I don't know anything about deer," he said. The other begged him to bet. "All right," he said then, "I'm going to make a deer come to that oak. I'll make him eat of it. I'll shoot him there. You do the same to the other oak with another deer. If you can do it, you know as much as I do."

But the other refused. . . . "I don't mean that. I mean that we should go out hunting to see who kills a deer first."

"No, that has nothing to do with power. Now you want to change the bet." But the other man backed down.

756 224 789 [868]

The individual with a deer or antelope ceremony uses it in many ways. He prepares the deer and antelope heads used in stalking game and sings over them to imbue them with the benefits of his rite. Because his practical experience is augmented by supernatural knowledge, such a shaman is requested by parents to instruct their sons in hunting. Moreover, since good fortune

1:Opler E-5 (1931-1937)1941
(ca. 1870) NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
Chiricahua

756
224
789

on the hunt is of constant importance to all grown men, those who do not possess such supernatural help, when they have been unsuccessful for any length of time, go to a deer or antelope shaman and hire him to perform his ceremony on their behalf.

825
224
539

The concept of animal homes is frequently encountered in connection with hunting rites:

A long time ago they made arrows of lightning for the Indians. There was one little cloud up in the sky, and the lightning from there killed a deer. All the time the Indians used to eat antelopes and deer killed by lightning.

One time a bunch of men just like these Indians around here got together and were talking. They said, "If we have lightning to kill things, pretty soon there will not be anything left on this world." So the old men talked about making arrows out of carrizo. They took this reed which is hollow and put inside it a foreshaft with a mark like a crawling snake.[24] They could shoot with it then. They did not have guns in those days. The Indians had bows and arrows in those days, but they could not kill anything. The lightning would kill things for them before this, but they could not find any game. Now the lightning would not help them any longer.

[411]

One time they were almost starving. One man went out hunting and was trailing some deer tracks. It was flat all over and there was a little hole out there with deer tracks around it, but the man could not find the deer. He was looking around where the deer tracks were and he saw a man coming out of the hole.

The man said to him, "What are you looking for? You have been looking for a long time and you don't find anything."

The hunter said, "I am looking for deer. Their tracks are fresh around here, but I can't find them."

The other man said, "Deer? What do you mean by saying 'deer'? I guess you must mean my horses." Then this man added, "They were here this morning and I just put them in the hole a little while ago." And then this man told the hunter, "I will give you some ceremonial power and from now on you can see the deer and you will have plenty to eat." This is why Indians can now kill deer.

When the hunter went back to camp that night, the others asked him where he got the power to kill deer. They kept on asking and asking, but the hunter would not tell them, for the man at the hole had told him not to tell, saying, "Even if you come to other camps, don't tell or you won't get anything to eat from me." But the Indians kept on asking and after a while the hunter got angry and told them. And from that time on they were starving again.

825
224

Before continuing to another story which emphasizes the importance of these animal homes, it is necessary to introduce a belief relating to the hunt:

[24] This refers to the fluting on the arrow.

1:Opler E-5 (1931-1937)1941
(ca. 1870) NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
Chiricahua

825
224

The old people are still afraid when the deer goes in a sunwise circle around them and runs to the east. They say that when this happens a person has to follow the deer and he turns into a deer. Several times when I've been hunting they have run around and nearly made a circle. Then the thing to do is to get ahead of them or shoot them. This fear of being circled is for deer or antelope.

825
224
539

The account in which the concept appears is as follows:

A young man went out with his bow and arrows to hunt antelopes on the prairies. He found a bunch of them. He was wearing an antelope mask and got close to them with it. He was trying to get close enough to shoot with the arrow.

They started to run before he got close enough to shoot. They ran in a sunwise circle around him and came back to the same place. Then they ran to the east. He ran after them. The antelopes ran out on the plains to a place where there was a little hill. Underneath the hill was a hole. They went in the hole, and this man went in too. He changed into an antelope.

The boy didn't come home. Two days passed and then his father and kinfolk trailed him. They saw where he had stood, where the antelopes had circled him, and where he had run after them. They trailed him to the hole and saw his track there in the fine dust.

They went home and hired a man who knew Antelope. A group came back with him to the hole and he sang. He tried to make the boy come back. He sang and prayed for four nights. The next morning the young man came up. He told them to go away from the hole. They did.

Then he said to his father, "I can't come back. You've got to get used to being without me. Do not think of me any more. The reason I don't come back is that I have many children now. I can show you my children. I can't leave them." He called his father to the hole. "Tell the men to wait for you. You can come in my home with me."

The father said, "All right," and went down in the hole with his son. He told the men to wait for him.

They went into a place like this earth. There was a sun in there and mountains. The young man showed his father many little antelopes and deer. That's what he meant by his children. He called the place in there Antelope Home. It is like summer there always, and the ground is covered with fine, soft dirt.

The boy told his father many things. Then he came up on top with his father. He told his father to go home with his friends. He said to his father, "Maybe one year from now, maybe three years from now, I'll come to you again. When you are hunting antelopes and you see one big one behind, that will be I. If you want to kill two or three, I'll help you, for when you come I'll smell you and let you come close."

825

It is the one who claims special help from Deer who uses it in ceremonial contexts most often, but the deer is so important that it is of use to others as well:

1:Opler E-5 (1931-1937)1941
(ca. 1870) NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
Chiricahua

825
[231] If you have a good deer dog, burn deerskin and make him inhale it. Then he becomes a good hunter. I had a sick hunting dog. I tried everything. The dog
[232] was going down. I hated to lose him. So I got deerskin and rags and burned them together and made the dog inhale the smoke. He got well too. I tried it the last thing.

825
237 Buckskin, especially from deer which have been caught in head nooses or otherwise killed without damage to the hide, is in great demand for ceremonial gifts and for the making of amu-
[178] lets. "It is the holy hide, used for ceremonial purposes. It is
[173] supposed to come from a strangled deer, and the skin is supposed to be unblemished. Child of the Water used it so on earth; that is why."

825
224 When a hunter kills a deer, the carcass, the hide, and even the offal are treated according to prescribed rule, but, since all hunters observe these usages, a description of them is deferred until hunting methods are treated.

754
825 *Bear.*—A vision journey which resulted in the acquisition of a bear ceremony is described by the son of the man who became
787 a bear shaman:
539

My father went across the plains twice, and the second time he slept at a place just beyond the White Sands. He usually found his tribe in the foothills at Hot Springs.

The second time, when he was sleeping at the place, something came to him. It was close to the springs. He was a little up the hills on a rock. He built a fire and went to sleep. He made a mattress of grass.

Close to morning he was sleeping there. He was sound asleep. It touched him and told him to awake. It had something to tell him. He pushed the cover off his head, and there sat a silver-tip bear. It spoke in a human way to him and told him it was time for him to get up and that he was about to get something to know and to travel by.

He got up. He knew that a door was open to him. He just walked right in, into the rocks. He was led into a room, and the bear changed itself into the form of a human and told him to follow wherever he went.

And so he showed him through the gate where the striking rocks were working, hitting against each other all the time. But they went through. Then they came to a place where four points of rock went back and forth. They also walked through that. They came to another rock that was rolling and was in the form of a round ball, just like a hill. It hit the bank on the other side all the time. But they walked over it and didn't even notice it strike the bank. Then they came to the swinging rock door, and it worked as in many other places.

Then they came to two big bears, black and white, at a gate. My father's

1:Opler E-5 (1931-1937)1941
(ca. 1870) NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
Chiricahua

231 789 When you want to train a dog to be a good hunter or watchdog, burn an eagle feather for it.

• 224 I wrap up an eagle feather in cloth with the kind of flies that bother animals. I burn this and throw a blanket over the dog's head so he can inhale the smoke.

If meat is rubbed on your feet and then given to a dog, that dog will stick by you and be a good watchdog. It will love you and guard you.

This is the way to make a dog good for trailing. Cut up four pieces of meat, spit on them, rub them on your moccasins to get some soil from there on them, put the meat in the dog's mouth, and talk to him, giving him instructions just as you would a boy.

Another way is to take a section of deer meat from the place where it swells between the two hoofs. Put this with the feather of the buzzard or crow. Put this to the windy side of the dog. Light it and make the dog inhale, saying to him, "May you keep the trail." We use the buzzard and crow because they fly all over and never miss a dead object. We use the deer meat so the dog will go after deer.

A friend told me to chop up a little rattlesnake into four parts and to give it to a dog with his meat. This is to be done when you want a fierce dog. It makes him fierce all right, but it is too dangerous. The dog is hard to handle then, even by the owner. The dog gets too mean, like a mountain lion. But if a man is far out alone and is afraid, it might be done.

232 There is a certain prickly pear that is called "dog medicine." It is a general tonic for a dog. You put it into his mouth whole.

825 787 539 The wolf has been known to offer a ceremony and special aid:

He smoked and prayed and went to bed again. He slept a little while and then was waked up again. Before him sat a big timber wolf, white as snow. It was the most beautiful creature, he said, he ever saw. He wanted to touch it but was afraid to. Then Wolf took its paw and touched him and told him he needn't be afraid. So he touched the wolf. The fur felt very soft and fine and warm. He touched the four legs of the wolf, then touched his own legs and said, "Let my legs be as strong as yours."

The wolf spoke to him and said, "I've seen you. . . . . I came to you myself. I will add what I can to the strength of your legs. You have done the right thing. . . . ."

231 787 539 755 *Horse* (*mule*, *burro*).—A characteristic horse ceremony was obtained by a man who was raiding for horses:

Two men started south from their home. On the way a horse spoke to one of them and gave him a ceremony. It happened this way. They were raiding for horses. They got to a town south of Tucson and found some horses there. They began to drive them off. At a certain place they stopped to rope horses to ride.

1:Opler E-5 (1931-1937)1941
(ca. 1870) NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
Chiricahua

MAINTENANCE OF THE HOUSEHOLD

HUNTING

224 462 IN THE securing of sufficient food the preoccupation of the man is properly with the hunt. "They think they are doing enough by going around hunting all day and getting food together." Except for participation in occasional rabbit surrounds, women are not encouraged to show concern for matters pertaining to the hunt. "Women never go out hunting because they aren't strong and able to get around," it was explained; but another comment suggests that the idea of appropriate male and female spheres is quite as important a consideration.

[152] The Chiricahua don't like to see a man go out hunting with a woman, whether they're married or not. It's considered a disgrace. One man used to do this. He was so jealous he didn't like to leave his wife alone. The Whitetail people saw him going out hunting with his wife, and they criticized him and laughed at him.

224 Since the deer is the most important game animal, a hunting trip, unless it is otherwise stated, may be assumed to have as its goal the securing of venison. Whether or not a specific ceremony precedes the hunt, certain precautions are always observed:

224 262 784 There are two things you cannot do before you go hunting. One is to eat onions. The other is to chew osha [*Ligusticum porteri*]. The deer will smell you if you do. Suppose you are going hunting tomorrow morning. You can't eat them tonight then. You can't even dig them the day before you are going out to hunt. [252] But the Chiricahua eat onions with deer meat when they come back from the hunt. They use the onions raw while they are eating the meat or they boil the onions with the meat.

[302] When you are going hunting you take care not to clean yourself up. Perhaps you have been eating the meat of some animal and therefore have been rubbing the grease and marrow of the long bones on your face, legs, and arms. You keep this on. And you don't put anything else on yourself that may smell; nothing sweet-smelling like perfume [i.e., "Indian perfume," such as mint] can be used at this time.

224 261 785 Fasting immediately before the hunt aids the chances for success:

1:Opler E-5 (1931-1937)1941
(ca. 1870) NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
Chiricahua

224 261 785

Another thing about the hunt according to the old Chiricahua ways: The older men would always give this advice to the younger. "Don't eat before you go out on the hunt," they would say. "Even though you have plenty in camp, don't eat in the morning before you go out. Go out and hunt with an empty stomach. Then Yusn will pity you. Perhaps you will not see anything to shoot though it is late in the day. You'll be empty, hungry, an object of pity. But if you go out with a full stomach, you'll hunt all day and won't get anything. As soon as you make your kill and come back with it, you can eat all you want."

224 825 773

The crow is associated with the hunt. A tale relates how animals were kept hidden by the crows until Killer of Enemies, with the help of Coyote, freed them during the absence of their keepers. The crows returned just in time to see their animals escape, and in their anger called the names of the waste products which form their usual fare. "So the human beings get all the best part of the meat, and the crows get what is left." On the basis of this story, the appearance of a crow just before the hunt is accepted as a favorable omen:

224 825 [787]

Well, suppose I am planning to go out hunting tomorrow. Crow might be very happy, flying around my camp. Then I might say, "Well, Crow, I'm going out hunting tomorrow and if I kill a deer you'll get the entrails, so help me." The crow must be connected in some way with hunting, but I've never heard how. But that's the way of it.

224 577

The attitude of the hunter should be one of reverence and generosity:

If I am going hunting with you, before we start out you might tell me, "If I kill two deer for you, I'm going to kill a good fat one and it will be mine." You must not show your selfishness in any way. If you say anything like this and walk all day and get no deer, you know what is the cause of it. You brought it on yourself. And even if you have killed several deer and you say something like this, you'll have bad luck later on. It'll make it bad for you.

[777]

224 [285] [777]

The attitude against optimism is emphasized particularly in one of the rules of the hunt.[1] "The Chiricahua don't allow baskets around the hunt. To bring them means that you are overconfident that they are going to be filled up. It spoils your luck."

In late fall, when the deer are fatter and the hides better,

[115]

[1] One elderly informant, an Eastern Chiricahua, claimed to know nothing of this rule.

I:Opler E-5 (1931-1937)1941
(ca. 1870) NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
Chiricahua

•224 hunting activities are intensified, but this industry continues through the year whenever need commands and weather permits. "The Chiricahua killed any kind of deer—bucks or does, blacktail or whitetail, any time of year." Ordinarily, the hunter leaves for the chase alone or with one or two companions. Sometimes as many as ten men will travel together to a site where the game is known to be abundant, but then each goes his own way. The individual character of the hunt is evident from the following description:

In the evening, before going to bed, I think about where I am going to hunt. So in the morning I wake up at dawn and rise eager to be off. I may prepare myself something to eat, yucca fruit or mescal or perhaps some meat, fresh or dried, and eat it. I don't eat much, for my mind is on hunting; if I don't eat before going, it doesn't matter, for, when I make my kill, I eat. . . . . I leave alone invariably. Some of the men prefer to hunt in pairs, especially if they go on horseback, but I wait for nobody and go early, alone, because the deer are not wise in the morning.

If I have the luck to kill a deer close to camp, I carry it back home and butcher it and skin it myself at home. The neighbors come around, and I give them parts of the meat. If I kill a deer far away, I butcher the animal out there, skin it, wrap the meat tightly in the skin to keep the crows from getting at it, and hang it on a tree so that the animals can't get it. Then I go home and return with my horse and fetch the meat. I return to camp then with the meat, and everybody is proud of me, and all are happy. I give meat to all who come around; among these are women without husbands, who are very eager for meat.

If I am unsuccessful on the hunt, I keep going as late as possible, until dark, and manage to get home by dark. If several men hunt together, they might plan to stay out all night; but, if hunters don't plan it, they always get home by dark so that nobody worries. After coming home in the evening when I have been unsuccessful, there may be nothing to eat, but I have to stick it out. That's pretty hard, but I'm man enough to stand it until morning. Though I am unsuccessful, no one makes fun of me.

[261] Sometimes there was no food, and we suffered much; in the old days the Indians could stand hunger, and they would tie a cord around their waists pretty tight.[9] If I have no luck hunting, I would go off to hunt like this every day until I kill something; but, if I have good luck, I can lay off for two or three days. I enjoy hunting, but when I have meat I may or may not feel like going hunting.

[411] [177] Most of the deer secured are killed with the bow and arrow. (This refers to the time before the introduction of firearms, of course.)

[9] It is believed that this reduces the discomfort of hunger.

1:Opler E-5 (1931-1937)1941
(ca. 1870) NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
Chiricahua

course.) Sometimes, especially when the hunter is mounted, the deer are run to exhaustion, roped, and strangled. An unblemished skin can be secured in this way, or the hunter might stab the tired animal in the throat or in some spot where an incision would be made anyway in skinning.

Arrows used on the hunt are occasionally treated with poison which has strong magical properties:

> Get some animal blood. Then take the sharp prongs of plants like the prickly-pear cactus and pound them up with the blood. Allow this to spoil. Put it on the arrow point. Whatever you shoot with it dies. It does not spoil the meat though. It acts the same on humans. It acts like this because the plants used have prickers.

A favorite aid in stalking is a deer-head mask, a device contributed by Killer of Enemies:

> We stalk deer wearing the head and horns of a deer. The head is mounted on a circular stick which rests on the top of the hunter's head. The features of the deer are filled in with grass, and the skin is tied together at the sides so the mask will stay on. The hunter sneaks up on the deer from the proper side, so the wind will not warn them of him. He acts like a grazing deer. He stoops over and rests on a stick which he holds in the left hand. In the right hand he holds his arrows. In this way he walks slowly to the deer until he is near enough to shoot an arrow. He doesn't wear the body skin of the deer as a disguise, but he puts on something that is pretty near the color of the deer's body. Some careful men could come within six feet of the deer in this way.

Sometimes, to draw the deer to him, the hunter employs a further stratagem: "They have whistles made of a leaf to call the deer. They can do it with any leaf held horizontally along the lips. It sounds like a small deer, and the mother comes."

Whenever possible the hunter tries to hit his prey in the flank, for then "the running motion makes the arrow work farther up." In the myths this technique is used by Killer of Enemies and Coyote.

Though it is common "for each man to hunt for himself" or for two or three to join forces, occasionally a larger number start out together. This permits a relay method of hunting; men are stationed at various points along a course, and deer are started in this direction. Fresh hunters are able to enter the chase at intervals and finally run down the tiring game. By much the same

1:Opler E-5 (1931-1937)1941
(ca. 1870) NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
Chiricahua

224 method, deer can be directed toward a "cliff or steep place so that they will have to stop or go down. Someone is stationed below to shoot them if they go down." There is no enthusiasm for running game, however, for it is said to make the meat "darker" and "slimy" and like the flesh of an old animal.

If a hunter is alone and kills a deer, he skins and butchers it immediately,[3] a task which must be done according to prescribed rules:

[193] The Chiricahua have their way for hunting. They follow rules according to the way Child of the Water hunted when he was on earth. He always put the head of his kill to the east. And he never walked in front of it to the east; he never walked past the head when he was skinning or butchering. He never straddled the deer or walked across the carcass as the whites do when butchering a cow.

First skin the side that is up. Begin at the face, cutting down the middle. Continue down the neck and along the center of the body and along the inside of the forefeet and back legs. Always cut through the middle of the joint so there won't be any baggy place when the hide is tanned. Pull the skin off the legs and keep cutting and working it off the rest of the carcass. When the skin is off the top side, cut the flesh along the side, break the ribs, and remove the entrails so as not to spoil the meat. Then turn the carcass over and skin the other side. Cut the sinews so that the lower leg joints are not stiff. They look too much the way a dead person does if they are stiff.

224 988 When the skin is entirely freed, a further ritual action takes place; this is sometimes simple, sometimes rather elaborate:

When I skin a deer, I brush the body with the skin in the four directions.

After the hide is off and the carcass is lying there, we twice lay the hide on reversed, with the front end of the hide on the back part of the carcass. Then we talk to the deer and say, "When you see me don't be afraid. May I be lucky with you all the time." This is done twice. In that way you have good luck with the deer and see them all the time. [197]

224 To complete the butchering, the legs are cut off, the backbone is severed at the neck and below the ribs, and the remainder

[201] [3] One informant said: "The wolf call is used in hunting as a signal if you want help after you have made the kill." But another informant thought it would be used only in special cases: "I do not think that calling like a wolf at a kill is general for the Chiricahua. I have been with old men when they killed deer, and they did not do it. A man who knows the ceremony of the wolf might."

1:Opler E-5 (1931-1937)1941
(ca. 1870) NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
Chiricahua

is cut into convenient sections. One man tells of his care to keep the meat of the right side separate from that of the left side until the butchering is concluded, but this seems to be personal with him. 224

If a hunter is on foot and far from his camp, it is likely that he will be able to take only part of the kill back with him:

If you are on foot and can't take it with you, you put the meat in a heap, place the hide over it, and say to the animals, "This belongs to Yusn; leave it alone." Then you hang it up in a tree by means of strongly spliced yucca strings. You hang it high enough so that animals cannot reach it. Then you put what you are going to take home in the hide. After reaching home, you go right back after the rest and bring it in. [283]

Another man mentioned a similar procedure, though he invokes a different supernatural:

You put part of the kill in a tree if you can't carry it all at once. It is tied there with strings made from the yucca leaf. There is a little prayer that is used at this time. You say, "This belongs to Hedos."[4] He was the "first man," sort of a religious man. He did this every time he made a kill. Now the Chiricahua do it. [283] [782] [776]

Crow is remembered with an offering. "Then I take the entrails out, put them to one side, and say, 'This is for you, Crow; make me lucky, and we'll have this kind of food all the time. I leave this for you every time.' " [825] [782] [776]

Certain parts of the deer must have special care if good fortune in the hunt is to be maintained: 224 825 777

As a general rule you must take the head home. Somebody might give you bad luck with it if you leave it there. You can do anything you want with it when you get it home, hang it up or anything. You must take the hoofs too. You can do what you want with them when you get them home too. Everybody is directed to do this.

A particular act also attends the bringing-back of the horns of a buck. "They take a slit of the entrails of a buck and tie it on the right horn. I was with M. hunting. He killed a deer and did this. I asked him why, and he said, 'For luck.' "

[4] This is the same supernatural character whose name was given before as Herus (see p. 198). The name is very unstable and has been recorded as Hados and Eyos as well.

1:Opler E-5 (1931-1937)1941
(ca. 1870) NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
Chiricahua

The rules of the hunt require generosity:

224 576 577 431 156 The first man who comes up to you when you kill a deer is entitled to the whole deer, no matter who he is. You say to him, "Go ahead, help yourself. Leave what you want for me." He can leave half or take most and leave you a little. You can't say anything. He can take the skin and all. The Chiricahua always feels this way. A poor fellow is out here hunting because he needs meat. If I kill something and he comes over, I share with him. That's the feeling of all the hunters. If you have already butchered a deer and have it on your horse carrying it into camp and meet someone, it is different. Then you give him whatever you want to. It's up to you.

An etiquette of reasonableness and shrewd utility governs these privileges, however. In no case of which I have a record has more than the hide and half the meat been taken. Often the hide alone or the meat only is accepted. A man who is well supplied with meat and skins may even politely decline the gift, for he knows that acceptance constitutes an implicit claim against him when the situation is reversed.

When two men are hunting together, "it's up to the man who makes the kill to give the hide to the other if he wants to." So automatic is this response that a man who kills a deer while he is in the company of another hunter is said "to kill it for" his friend. "When you are out and you kill a deer for another, he skins it."

The ideal of selflessness in obedience to rule is sometimes difficult to maintain, particularly when hunting companions have a common need of buckskin:

[522] I've heard jokes about hunting. This is one funny story. Two men were hunting together. Both were good shots. They saw a deer close by, a big deer. Neither of them could have missed it, it was so close. Each man knew that he wasn't entitled to the hide if he killed the deer. Each said to the other, "You shoot him." Each was making up all kinds of excuses for not shooting. One said to the other, "I've shot many deer for you, so you could get the hides. Now here's a chance for you to kill one for me, and you don't do it!" The other said, "You can kill that deer, and then I'll get the hide." Meanwhile the deer ran away, and neither of them got it. That's the story I've heard. They laugh when they tell this story.

The strength of the obligation of generosity can be inferred from this account, in which a man, despite his selfishness, is offered a share by the successful hunter:

1:Opler E-5 (1931-1937)1941
(ca. 1870) NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
Chiricahua

224 • 431 576 577 156

C. told me what happened another time. He said, "I saw a big buck in the bushes. I shot him, and the deer just dropped down. So I went over there and put my knife in its throat so it would bleed. Then I had to get my horse that I had left a long ways behind. This happened in a canyon, and, when I shot, A. was over there and heard it.

"While I went back after my horse, A. got to my deer. He dragged it about fifty yards away into some other bushes. I got back to the place where I had left the deer, but I couldn't find it. I followed the track, but every now and then he had lifted up the deer, trying to make me lose the trail. All the time I was trailing I thought no human would do a thing like that. I thought it must be a bear. So I got off my horse and loaded my gun and followed it in the brush, down the hill.

"Pretty soon I saw something black. It was moving in the bushes and I couldn't tell what it was. I was just a little way from it, maybe twenty yards. I saw the black hair; I thought it was a bear. So there I was. I wanted to see where his head was, for I wanted to shoot him in the ribs. I followed him with my rifle, ready to shoot.

"Then A. stood up and said, 'Phew!' I had almost shot that fellow! I walked up to him. I asked him, 'Why is it you took my deer? Why is it you didn't butcher it up there where it was but carried it down here? I almost shot you. I almost took you for a bear.'

"Then A. told me, 'There's your deer; take it then!' I said, 'Go ahead; take what you want. I'll take the rest of it.'"

Then A. took the hide and C. got what was left. C. said, "I was pretty good about it and let him have what he wanted."

When three men are hunting together, and one shoots a deer, his companions run for the fallen animal, and the first to touch it has the privilege of skinning it and keeping the hide. To the others usually go portions of the meat.

It is customary to help the widows and the aged. If there are many such individuals and meat is scarce, the hunter may have little meat left upon his arrival at his own home: [736] [737]

If you go through the camps with a deer, they take it from you. You can't say anything. It's hard to refuse those who haven't any meat. That's the Chiricahua way. They take the hide and the meat; they take what they want. I used to sneak in at night. That's what some do.

Another informant feels that the distribution of food is governed by a more spontaneous generosity. "When a man returns from the hunt, the proceeds are his own. He doesn't have to give anything, but even if a lazy man wants food, he would not refuse him."

1:Opler E-5 (1931-1937)1941
(ca. 1870) NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
Chiricahua

224 264 784 The proper care of the meat and the skeletal parts of the deer must be kept in mind until the animal is entirely consumed. It is forbidden to "take the meat when it is hot and blow upon it," for such action is likely "to blow the deer away." "We don't just throw the bones away. We are careful. We put them in a nice pile. They say if you throw the bones, it throws the deer away. You won't see any more deer when you are out hunting." 224 Other safeguards are employed for individual ends:

[789] [784] Other things, like handling the meat a certain way, or not giving away certain parts, are done mostly at the direction of ceremonial men. If your luck has been bad and you've hunted all week without killing a thing, you might go to some man who has songs for this and ask him to help you. He will give you some restriction or rule on your hunting. That's how these things start.

The game animal next in importance to the deer is the pronghorn or antelope. Separate hunts to obtain antelopes are less frequent, however; often such hunts wait upon a chance encounter which reveals the presence of the antelopes. In general, the same usages, ceremonial and practical, which mark the deer hunt are true for the antelope hunt. The solitary hunter makes considerable use of the antelope-head mask. "They fix the antelope [237] head for hunting. They take all the bone out, leaving only horns and ears. Only a man with ceremonial knowledge will do it, they say. They call hunting with a mask of this kind 'he slips up to it.'"

Stalking antelopes is even more time-consuming and difficult than approaching deer:

The antelopes live on the flats. They are harder to get near than deer. They are hunted like deer, with a mask. The hunter wears a jacket painted like an antelope skin. He has a stick in one hand. He imitates the walk of the antelope. If a herd of antelopes is seen in the distance, the hunter works up to them. It takes two or three hours sometimes, for it is necessary to advance slowly, acting just like the animals. The grass is tall, and the hunter keeps his head just above the grass.

The relay chase is used to secure pronghorns, too:

A group of about ten men sometimes goes off on horseback to hunt antelopes. When the antelopes are sighted, one bunch scatters the antelopes toward the other men who are strung along on horseback. When one horse gets tired, an-

1:Opler E-5 (1931-1937)1941
(ca. 1870) NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
Chiricahua

other man takes up the chase. Sometimes they rope the antelopes. Then they kill them by slitting them under the leg or throat where you have to cut anyway when skinning. 224

Then there is a surround in which mounted men participate:

When the herd is sighted, they scatter and approach it, making a big circle. Two or three men run in toward the antelopes and get them started. Then the circle closes in, and the hunters shoot or rope the animals. The men are about a hundred yards apart. Special horses, two-year-olds which are trained for hunting, are used.

Another animal which is occasionally hunted, but not as seriously as deer or antelopes, is the wapiti, or "American elk." These are few in number throughout some parts of the tribal territory (the Southern Chiricahua claim that there were none in most of their range), and the meat, perhaps because the people are less familiar with it, is not so greatly esteemed. The Central Chiricahua say that "there were plenty of elks" where they lived, however. Elk horns are too heavy to attach to masks, and informants say it is not necessary to use the heads anyway, for the elk "is not as smart as the deer and is easier to get." [262] [825]

The meat and the skins of the mountain sheep and the mountain goat are used when they can be procured. These animals are not numerous or easy to get, however, and are of limited importance in the economy.

Wood rats supplement the meat diet: 224 262

The Chiricahua hunt those big rats and eat them. Two men go to a nest. One pokes a stick in; the other waits at the other end and shoots when the rat comes out. For this they use a small arrow the same as is used for birds. It is all wood, with a sharpened point. When they get a good many rats, they pierce the legs and carry them home on poles over the shoulder. Sometimes to get them a person pokes into a hole and hits them with a stick when they come out. [411]

Opposums, considered "the best meat in the rat class," are found in Southern Chiricahua range and are shot with bows and arrows.

Cottontail rabbits are hunted and eaten, but for some reason many persons are reluctant to eat jack rabbits:

Many won't eat jack rabbit, though they will eat cottontail. I don't know why exactly. They say cottontail meat is better. It's between the taste and the looks.

1:Opler E-5 (1931-1937)1941
(ca. 1870) NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
Chiricahua

224 262 The jack rabbit is supposed to have a bad taste. I never have eaten it, but I have eaten cottontails. In Oklahoma the other Indians ate jack rabbits, but most of the Chiricahua didn't. We eat the cottontail though. I like it. It has saved me many times, that rabbit! Cottontails are good.

[184] The dislike for jack rabbit is not unanimous, apparently, for a member of the Eastern band asserted, "The Hot Springs people eat cottontails and jack rabbits."

224 [857] Rabbits are hunted assiduously by boys who are still too young to seek larger game. Grown men shoot them when other game fails and fresh food is required at once. Sometimes a communal rabbit hunt or "rabbit clubbing" is arranged.[5] Rabbits and other small furry creatures are sometimes dislodged from burrows by means of long sticks. "They use a stick to get small animals out of holes. You catch the end of it in the animal's fur and twist. Then pull out. Any kind of wood or stick will do for this. Rabbits mostly are pulled out this way. Sometimes they get away."

224 262 Only a few are fond of prairie-dog meat:

The prairie dog is sometimes eaten. Some do it for health, but others don't like it; they are afraid of it, as they are of fish. They don't like the looks of it, I guess. As I understand it, very few eat it. No one warned me against eating it, but I just haven't done so. My father has mentioned eating it, but very few of the older people do. They say that prairie dogs eat snakes, just as hogs do. They don't say you can get sick from the prairie dog as you can from the snake, but the Chiricahua just don't like it much.

[857] Squirrels sometimes serve to replenish the larder. They are seldom hunted by grown men, but the boys hunt them and thus demonstrate their ability to add to the household's resources.

[184] Although peccaries are found in some parts of the tribal range, the members of at least two of the bands—the Eastern and Central—will not eat this meat because "the peccary eats snakes." A Southern Chiricahua band member, however, tells of hunts in which the wild hogs are rounded up like rabbits and shot down with arrows. The hunters surround a brushy place, for "the peccaries are found where there is a lot of brush; when on the flats they always make for the brush." The same informant said,

[5] For a description of this see p. 76.

1:Opler E-5 (1931-1937)1941
(ca. 1870) NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
Chiricahua R

"The unborn of the peccary is eaten also. One pig has lots of them." 224 262

That the wildcat was formerly eaten is both affirmed and denied. One informant classed it with wolf and fox and said, "We don't like the meat; also it is forbidden and might kill us." It is possible that some individuals used it for food. Everyone wants the skin, and so the animal is killed whenever opportunity offers.

A number of informants have agreed that mountain-lion meat is edible. In addition, the hide is the favorite material for the quiver. Consequently, no opportunity to shoot a cougar is overlooked by the hunters. [411] [237]

Infrequently the chance was afforded to hunt bison. One account tells of a long trip to a point north and east of the present site of Albuquerque and of success in hunting bison there. Occasionally one was found in the vicinity of Hot Springs and was secured by the people of that region. But bison were entirely absent from the greater part of the territory. 224 [136]

In the historic period wild cattle became abundant and were supplemented by domestic stock obtained on raids to the south. The stock introduced by the Europeans became important very early: 224 262 [136]

> Long ago there were cattle which we hunted and used. The old people say that there were some wild cattle and wild horses, wilder than deer. I don't know where they came from. Many ate burros and mules in those days; many ate horses.
>
> Before the Americans came, a few Chiricahua had cattle, and, of course, there were some with many horses. In wars with the Mexicans they would sometimes steal cattle, and that accounts for the presence of cattle among the Chiricahua. They'd herd the cattle to a river and let them stay around there and increase. Five or six or a dozen men who made the raid would divide the cattle among them, and then the cattle belonged to them personally. Then these men might have enough meat so they wouldn't have to hunt any more for a while. [231] [648]

Many animals are hunted only for their fur. Among these are the badger (from which a skin bag for holding piñon seeds and acorns is made), the beaver, and the otter. 224 237

Birds are much more significant as a source of feathers than as food: 223 262

1:Opler E-5 (1931-1937)1941
(ca. 1870) NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
Chiricahua

262 Once my brother brought a can of sardines to camp. He was going to open it for lunch. My mother didn't know what he had and she brought out a plate for him to put them on. She asked him what it was. He didn't want to tell her. He held the can behind him. Then he brought it out and opened it up and spilled the fish on the plate my mother was holding. She looked at it. She didn't know what it was. It looked funny to her. She asked my brother, and he told her.

You know how those old people are. She gave a yell and threw it. It landed right in the lap of the old man. The old man just sat there and looked at it. The plate was lying there in the dirt. I nearly died laughing. My brother was angry. He said, "What did you throw them away for?" She said, "If you bring me something bad like that again, I'll throw it right in your face."

[825] "The frog is not eaten; it is classed with fish." "The frog is
[826] classed as a snake. We do not eat it. If you do, it will make you walk like a cowboy [i.e., will make you bowlegged]." An in-
[439] formant who apparently equates frogs with snakes said: "I killed frogs and sold them to the [American] soldiers, but I never ate them myself. There were eels in the creek near Fort Sill. B. used to catch them. The soldiers bought them, but the Indians wouldn't eat them."

One voice was raised in appreciation of frogs' legs as food. The Eastern Chiricahua informant, previously quoted, who claims that his people ate fish, added: "They ate frogs' legs too. The meat tastes like chicken and is good."

THE ECONOMIC INTEREST IN RAID AND WAR

721 For men, raiding approaches hunting in economic significance.
433 In fact, these two pursuits may be said to be rival industries:

[224] The man who has a deer ceremony either does not go on raids or does not spend too much time on raids, so he will not lose his luck with deer. If you are too successful on raiding parties and bring back lots of booty, you become unlucky with deer; you don't see the deer and become a poor hunter.

This statement embodies a psychological and practical truism: The man who becomes engrossed in raid and war very likely has only limited time and interest to devote to the chase.

The raid is a recognized and integral aspect of the economy.
[533] This finds expression in the songs. The words of a round-dance song, for instance, repeat: "The wagon goes along, they say,

1:Opler E-5 (1931-1937)1941
(ca. 1870) NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
Chiricahua

411
[824]
[283] carefully tied, makes a bow string that serves well in emergencies and is even regularly used by some.

To release the arrow, the archer holds the string between his thumb and first finger and assists with his second finger. When the bow is not in use, it is left unstrung. In the hands of a strong man this weapon is quite effective.

[My uncle] made powerful bows. At one hundred yards he could kill a deer instantly. At fifteen yards he could send an arrow through a deer.

A good shot would be one that would send the arrow about a hundred yards with accuracy. The bow worked as fast as the gun in the old days. Formerly, before someone could load the magazine of a gun, you could shoot three arrows from the bow.

[223]
[224]
[868] For hunting birds and killing pack rats, men fashion smaller bows of the same general construction. Boys who are learning how to use weapons are given these smaller bows.

In any important undertaking a man carries from thirty to forty arrows, and he likes to keep a reserve supply at home. Much time and care, therefore, go into their making and repair. An entire month may be spent on a full set of arrows. The arrows
[824] are of two kinds: those of carrizo or reed into which a hardwood foreshaft is fitted and those with the entire shaft of hardwood. For the latter, Apache plume, mulberry, mountain mahogany, or *Fendlera rupicola* is chosen.

[322] When the man gathers arrow wood, he cuts it into appropriate lengths, peels off the bark, scrapes it, and allows it to dry from three to five days. The shaft is straightened between the teeth or
[531] is pressed against a heated rock and then is decorated with bands or stripes of black, blue, or red paint. On the upper portion of the shaft, at about the middle of the area which will be covered by the feathers, a narrow band of green or red is often traced.

[237] Tail or wing feathers of the red-tailed hawk, the eagle, the buzzard, or the turkey are next affixed to the butt of the shaft. Turkey feathers, however, "can't stand rough treatment and are used mostly for the arrows used in practice or for boys' arrows." Each feather is split in half and trimmed, and the white substance is scraped from the quill. Three feathers are used, five- or six-inch lengths being arranged equidistant from each other and

1:Opler E-5 (1931-1937)1941
(ca. 1870) NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
Chiricahua

Pitch has been applied to the inner surface of the split, and the stone is held in place by sinew bindings on either side of it. Often an animal tail is attached to the end of the handle. An ax of this type, without the tail or any decoration, may serve around camp as a household tool.

The man makes for his own use a sling, a diamond-shaped piece of rawhide, pounded a little and thus softened, with four perforations through the median line of its width. A rawhide string is attached to each side, one with a loop at the end and the other without any. Because of the perforations, the sling can be folded over a stone about two and a half inches long and one inch thick. The loop is placed on the middle finger of the right hand, and the free string is held between the thumb and first finger. The sling is drawn back and whirled just once. As it comes forward the unlooped string is released, hurling the stone.

There are slings of two sizes that the Chiricahua carry. One is for things close by and is short. The other is a long one, for long-distance shooting. You can get to be very accurate with a sling. You never whirl the sling around a lot, as the stone might come out and hit someone. It just goes back once, and then you let it go. You can hurl a stone a hundred and fifty yards with it. It can be used for hunting birds or deer alike.

Finally, there is the stone knife, chipped with another stone. "They used to chip off the hardest rock they could get and use it for a knife." This knife may have a shoulder jutting from the handle end so that it can be tied to the belt or waist, or it may be carried in a rawhide sheath made by the woman.

A man makes a long rope from a piece of buckskin or rawhide by cutting it in a continuous clockwise circle from the outer rim to the center. To form an especially strong rope, he braids several strands of rawhide together. Such a cord or one braided from horse-tail hair makes a serviceable bridle. By shredding yucca leaves and braiding the tough strands, he makes a durable rope which also can be used for tying and hobbling horses or for a bit and bridle.

"Anyone could build a fire. Whoever woke up first did it. A woman can use the fire drill." Yet the fire drill is made by the man and is employed by him most frequently:

1:Opler E-5 (1931-1937)1941
(ca. 1870) NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
Chiricahua

839 593 824 A blue-green alga (Nostoc) is used to combat suspected unfaithfulness:

It's found in the mountains, just on the ground. It's very scarce. It can be used both ways—on a man or on a woman. If you think your wife is unfaithful, you can make her smoke it with tobacco, and it will make her stop acting like that. I've had it for about eight years. I keep it in a buckskin pouch. My wife and I went and got it. We tried one day and couldn't find any. We went the next day and got a little.

832 593 Love magic is used also to keep or to regain the interest of a mate. A story is told of a man who stayed out on raids and war expeditions so long that his wife felt abandoned. Her mother, who "knew love charms," performed "a deer ceremony . . . . the kind used to get deer in a certain position, to charm a deer so that he will be at a place where you can get him easily." The husband, who was far away, became lonesome for his wife. That very day he started for home and, when he got there, begged his wife "to take him back." [224]

837 Affairs, especially for women, are probably more common after marriage than before: "Unmarried girls are watched very carefully; married women aren't guarded carefully by the community." In all traditional stories of unfaithfulness and perversion the woman is described as the culprit. [562]

An actual example of infidelity throws light on the behavior of individuals in these domestic crises. A man hears that his wife has become involved with a widower during his absence and hurries home:

His intention was to kill both of them or one of them the night he got back. He had a long knife. I heard this story the next morning. Somehow those two got word that he was looking for them and hid; they were warned and ran out to the mountains. The people wouldn't tell him where they went. He hunted for them all night. He looked in all the homes the next day. I talked with him myself but couldn't cool him off.

Meanwhile a bunch of the leading men got together. They didn't want trouble. They pleaded with him to let them go. Prominent men pleaded with him. The evening before the feast I was with him. The leading men called him over to a place near the feast grounds. They were all waiting for him. I walked over with him. The woman and the man he was after were hidden in another tent. The old men said, "Brother, nephew, we wish to talk with you." They called him all kinds of relationship terms. "Cool down," they told him.

2: Castetter and Opler N, E-5 (1931-1934)1936
NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
CHIRICAHUA
MESCALERO

Western Apache (Northern Tonto, Southern Tonto, White Mountain or Coyotero, Cibecue, and San Carlos Apache), and the Navaho. The dialects of the Chiricahua and Mescalero are usually close—closer, in all probability, than the dialects of any two other Southern Athabaskan tribes.

Ethnic ties point in the same direction. With due allowance for individual tribal variations and the influence of adjoining culture areas, there emerges a basic core of mythology, belief, and social organization common and peculiar to these Southern Athabaskans. In this respect the Mescalero and Chiricahua are again found to be most closely associated. In fact, the evidence of language, custom, and geographical location strongly suggests that these two tribes represent a late differentiation of a parent stock.

LOCATION

The land which the Mescalero claim was theirs in aboriginal times lay principally in what is now New Mexico. The eastern limit of their recognized territory was the flat country to the east of Hondo, but expeditions for salt, or to hunt antelope and buffalo often took them far beyond this point and many times east of the Pecos. Occasionally they wandered as far north as Santa Fe. On the south their range extended into northwestern Texas and into northern Chihuahua and Coahuila, Old Mexico. The Rio Grande was their western boundary. The favorite Mescalero haunts were to be found in the San Andreas, Sacramento, and Guadalupe mountain ranges. Places within this central mountainous area are the ones most frequently mentioned in the old stories, and from this section hunting expeditions and raiding and war parties would start out for the more remote parts of Mescalero territory.

The Chiricahua ranged through western New Mexico, southeastern Arizona, and southward into Old Mexico. Their eastern boundary began at the Rio Grande. They ranged westward approximately to the eastern boundaries of the present White Mountain and San Carlos Indian reser-

2: Castetter and Opler N, E-5 (1931-1934)1936
NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
CHIRICAHUA
MESCALERO

619 621 101 From the point of view of the native the band was more important than the tribe. This is reflected in nomenclature. Neither the Chiricahua nor Mescalero have true native tribal names, but the bands are named. This undoubtedly derives from the fact that in aboriginal times, due to the scattered condition of the tribe and the large area which it controlled, an Apache's meaningful contacts were likely to be limited to members of his band. There were few occasions when tribal unity could be affirmed by a gathering of all tribesmen.

184 ## CULTURAL DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE MESCALERO AND CHIRICAHUA

Besides the linguistic differences between the Mescalero and Chiricahua, and the relatively minor tribal distinctions in songs, rites, myths, and folk beliefs which might be expected, the most noticeable tribal variations existed in the realm of material culture. The Mescalero made trips to the plains to hunt buffalo, and were to some degree dependent upon this animal for meat, skins, and sinew. The Chiricahua were too far west to benefit to any great extent by the presence of buffalo on the plains. When living or hunting on the plains the Mescalero made use of the skin-covered tipi and transported the poles for it by horse in the form of a travois. But only the Warm Springs, the most eastern band of the Chiricahua, made any use of the tipi or travois, and then infrequently. The Mescalero shaped rawhide parfleches and painted them with Plains-like geometric designs. The parfleches of the Chiricahua were undecorated.

[224] [342] [492] [415] [531]

291 184 [177] [302] An orientation towards the Plains can be discerned in Mescalero dress and hairdress, too. The typical costume of the Mescalero man was buckskin shirt, loin-cloth, leggings, and hard-soled, low-cut moccasins. His hair was braided and wrapped. The Chiricahua man presented a markedly different appearance. He wore no leggings, his moccasins came high on his legs and showed a curious, disc-shaped, upward projection at the toe. His hair hung loosely or was kept in place by a headband only.

[302]

2: Castetter and Opler N, E-5 (1931-1934)1936
NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
CHIRICAHUA
MESCALERO

821 784 776 Space does not permit a full discussion of the restrictions in food, speech, and even in the color of objects displayed during a storm, which are obeyed in order to appease the thunder people. But enough has been given, perhaps, to demonstrate that the Apache conceive of this natural force as alive and personified.

825 The same characterization attaches to insects and animals. To kill a spider will bring retaliation by his fellows. Therefore it is customary when an Apache has inadvertently stepped on a spider for him to say, "So-and-So killed you," [648] naming someone he especially dislikes. During the wars with the United States soldiers a favorite remark was, "Washington did it," when such a mishap occurred. The [753] malice of a mistreated horse or dog was said to result in serious consequences, and the ants were said to afflict anyone with bladder stones who urinated in or near their hills.

825 224 The extent to which it was thought necessary to go in order to win the approval and co-operation of the animal world is clearly indicated in hunting practices. The customs pertaining to the hunting of deer will serve as an example. [824] The deer are said to be sensitive to certain plants, such as wild onions and osha, and will hide from a hunter who digs them up or eats them immediately before the hunt. To eat 825 224 784 before leaving for the hunt would be to forfeit any chance of success; even if there is an abundance of food at hand, the [264] hunter must go out hungry, for the deer are not likely to take pity on a full stomach and reveal themselves. When the kill is made, the head must be turned to the east, and, in butchering, the carcass may never be straddled, nor may the hunter walk on the east side past the head. The lower end of the big intestine must be left for Raven. The eyes must be kept from Raven till the meat is brought in, otherwise, the game would not be fit for consumption. If a hunter should [787] be unable to find or kill deer for some time, he would assume that he had been careless in one of these or similar particulars and would go to a man who has a ceremony from deer in order to learn what he had done "against" the deer and how to correct matters.

2: Castetter and Opler N, E-5 (1931-1934)1936
NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
CHIRICAHUA
MESCALERO

and his divine mother, and its execution was, therefore, a matter of learning by rote the directions which these two laid down.[4]

HUNTING

Something has already been said about the hunt in connection with our discussion of the Apache's relation to his natural surroundings. Apache hunting customs are so interlarded with belief and ritual observances that only the briefest outline can be suggested here.

When the Apache boy is still very young, a close male relative provides him with a small bow and blunt arrows. With these the boy practices, trying to shoot birds and small mammals. When he succeeds in making his first kill, he marks its heart with a cross of pollen and swallows it raw and whole. At about the age of puberty he hunts in the company of an older and more experienced man for larger game. When he kills his first deer, antelope, or elk, his companion marks the boy's moccasins or face with blood from the heart of the animal.

The Apache ate the flesh of deer, antelope, elk, mountain sheep, cotton-tail rabbits, opossum, and wood rats. The buffalo was hunted by the Mescalero, as we have noted. Many would not touch jack-rabbit flesh. Some ate mountain-lion flesh and peccary, but many would not taste peccary, and mountain-lion was eaten by most in a ceremonial context only. Bear was eaten only by those who had a ceremony from the bear or by those who were consuming it ritually. Some ate squirrel flesh, and some would not taste it. The same was true for the prairie-dog and ringtail cat *(Bassariscus astutus flavus)*. Birds were not in high favor as food. As far back as can be remembered many Apache would not eat turkey, quail, and dove. Fish was another food upon which the Apache were not of one opinion. The members of at least one Chiricahua band did not eat fish before White contact. It is claimed, on the other hand, that

4. For a more complete discussion of the Apache conception of supernatural power see Opler (18).

2: Castetter and Opler N, E-5 (1931-1934)1936
NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
CHIRICAHUA
MESCALERO

262 some Mescalero and some Chiricahua did partake of fish.
[179] After White contact, horses, mules, and wild steer were added to the diet.

[825] There were many animals, such as the mink, beaver,
[224] muskrat, and weasel, which were not used as food but which were sought for their skins or because their body parts were
223 of ceremonial import. Birds such as the eagle, turkey, and turkey buzzard were shot or snared for their feathers or body parts.

224 Head masks were used in stalking deer and antelopes, and head nooses were occasionally strung in the trails for deer. Antelopes were run to exhaustion by relays of men
[223] mounted on fast horses. Oval bird blinds were built at water holes, and from them the hiding hunter would shoot the birds he wanted as they came for water. Eagles and turkey vultures were taken in snares set around the carcass of some dead animal. Occasionally a rabbit surround was held, in which old and young participated and shot or clubbed the prey. The ordinary manner in which a man hunted for larger game, however, was to go out by himself or with a companion, depending upon his knowledge of the habits of the game to lead him to the place where an animal might be browsing, and from there to track it, approach it without being discovered, and dispatch it with a well directed arrow or two.

224 Every aspect of the hunt is governed by rule for the
576 Apache. If he shoots a deer and another man is with him at the time or comes up at that moment, etiquette decrees that he step aside and allow his companion to help himself. The newcomer is entitled to the hide and as much of the meat as he desires. Ordinarily he takes the hide and half of the flesh. If two hunters come upon a third who has just made a kill, they race for the carcass, and the one who touches it
[526] first is entitled to the hide. Should both touch the kill at the same time, the issue is decided by a wrestling match between them.

224 The successful Apache hunter must not turn away the
736 widow or the needy woman empty-handed when he returns

2: Castetter and Opler N, E-5 (1931-1934)1936
NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
CHIRICAHUA
MESCALERO

through the camps. Any woman who has no one to provide for her may approach him at this time and help herself to what he has without protest from him. Often, in times of scarcity, an Apache hunter would reach his own dwelling with little to show for his efforts.

AGRICULTURE

It is doubtful whether the Apache practiced what could really be called agriculture until very recently. As a matter of fact they raised so little maize and expended so little care upon it that the practice, in aboriginal times, did not interfere with their nomadic life. They obtained maize from the Pueblos and the Mexicans, planted some in sheltered canyons, returned once or twice to pull the worst of the weeds, even did a little irrigating if the land were exceptionally dry and water could be easily diverted to it, and then came back when they thought the crop would be ready to harvest.

One of the oldest of the Chiricahua told the writer, "My people did not practice farming. The Indians had many plants which were given to them and did not have to practice it. They move around so much too." Another Chiricahua man testified, "I do not think the Chiricahua ever planted before they came under the influence of the Whites." Still another member of the tribe spoke of planting as a trait that had been "picked up" long ago in Mexico. Most of the informants seem to realize that what agriculture they practiced came to them from the outside, and many of those who state that it was carried on in the "old days" interpret that to mean no more than the lifetime of their parents or grandparents.

Just when these Apache began to plant is difficult to estimate. At any rate it is certain that the agricultural efforts of the Apache were at first far from elaborate. They have been described by an old Mescalero as follows: "Only two or three families out of a hundred would farm. That's in the earliest time I can remember. We got the corn seed from raiding settlers and Mexicans. This was before gov-